

Brigham Young

A
BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE
LEADING CAUSES
OF THE
HANCOCK MOB,
IN THE YEAR 1846.

BY JOSIAH B. CONYERS, M. D.,
QUINCY, ILLINOIS.

SAINT LOUIS:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY CATHCART & PRESCOTT,
Corner of Main and Olive Streets, up-stairs.
1846.

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PROPOSING, as we do, to give a succinct history of the rise and progress of the late Mob in Hancock County, Illinois, we shall, of necessity, be obliged to make references to persons, as well as to places and things, which, under ordinary circumstances, might be properly omitted. But, on a subject of the magnitude of the one that we are about to take up, that involves a question of human life, as well as the constitution and laws of our beloved country, it becomes, then, one of too much responsibility to touch lightly, or to suppress, to whom praise or blame belongs. If humanity and the laws have been observed, then, indeed, we shall not be censured for noting persons, as well as places and things; as then, only, we shall be reiterating and making known, at home and abroad, that just mead of praise that should be given to him that has acted his full part in the tragedy. But on the contrary, if humanity and the laws have been wantonly and violently assailed, it would, then, be not only cowardly in us not to censure, but to become guilty, as a faithful chronicler, of the events that have transpired, of suppressing facts to which the world at large have an undoubted right. Great and important events, to wit: battles fought and victories won, the glory of which belongs to some one, does not come by chance; and we certainly will not be censured for attempting to make a record of the facts, and point out to whom that glory belongs; especially when we propose to make the witnesses in the case testify to their own praise or blame. In this history we shall pass over all the violence connected with the murder of the two Smiths, in the Carthage jail, in 1844, and commence with the proceedings that recently ended in the expulsion, from Nauvoo, of from one to two thousand Mormon women and children, a few hundred

able-bodied men, and *new citizens*, together with the government officers.

The first witness we propose to call, in the above case, is S. M. BARTLETT, the editor of the *Quincy Whig*. In this editor's paper, of Wednesday, September 17th, 1845, we find the following items of intelligence, headed "*Mormon Disturbances:*"

"We have," said Mr. Bartlett, "some particulars of Mormon disturbances in the northern part of this county, in Lima Precinct, known as the "Morley Settlement." Our particulars are not very full, and we give them as they come to us. It seems the Anti-Mormons, in the settlement, determined to hold a meeting and devise some means of ridding that section of thieves, believed to infest it. The meeting was accordingly held, and during its deliberations—as the story goes—a gun or guns were fired against, or in the house, in which it was held. These guns, it is alleged by the Anti-Mormons, were fired by the Mormons. The consequence was, that the whole settlement took fire at once. Great exasperation prevailed against the brethren of Nauvoo, and in public meeting it was resolved to *expel* the obnoxious lovers of other people's pork, beef, honey, horses, &c., from the borders of Adams County. Last Thursday evening, we believe, was selected by the Anties for the commencement of their operations; and we understand they did assemble, and actually proceeded to extremities so far as destroying several Mormon houses, and committing other depredations upon their property. In these assemblages the people were armed, and manifested a most determined spirit to carry into execution their threats against the Nauvooites.

"Such incidents as these are multiplying every day, to show that the Mormons, with their bigoted, selfish, illiberal notions, cannot live in quiet with ordinary people—and it is not difficult to foretell what these differences will eventually result in."

"P. S.—We learn the depredations of the Anti-Mormons were more extensive than were generally supposed. Something like twenty houses were burned down, and the families compelled to take refuge in the bushes. Thursday night must have been a severe one to the women and children, who were compelled to lay out, as it rained nearly the whole night."

"*Seriously,*" continued Mr. Bartlett, "*these outrages should be put a stop to at once; if the Mormons have been guilty of crime, why punish them, but do not visit their sins upon defenceless women and children. This is as bad as the savages.* It was further stated that a reinforcement was expected from Nauvoo to protect the Mormons at 'Morley's.' And that the Anties were concentrating their forces to give them battle. It is feared

that this rising against the Mormons is not confined to the "Morley Settlement;" *but that there is an understanding among the Anties, in the northern part of this and Hancock County, to make a general sweep, burning and destroying the property of the Mormons, wherever it can be found.* If this is the case, there will be employment for the executive of the State, and that soon.

"We learn, that on Sunday last, a company of twenty-five men, commanded by Senator Davis, of Hancock, left Warsaw for the scene of difficulty, with the design of aiding the Anti-Mormons. Capt. Dunn, of Augusta, is at the head of a large force of Anti-Mormons; and the Sheriff of Hancock—rumor has it—is about to march to the same point, to apprehend the Anti-Mormons. A breeze may be expected if these elements of opposition meet in force—and that a serious one.

"Some of the Mormon families, who were dispossessed of their dwellings at Lima, have taken refuge in this city.

"It is plain to be seen that the Mormon difficulties are just commencing. All that has gone before will not be a priming to that which is to come. The difficulties will never cease, so long as the disturbing cause remains in the country."

"STILL LATER.—News from above was received late on Monday night. The outrages were still continued. The flouring mill, carding machine, &c. of Norman Bucl, a Mormon, one mile and a half west of Lima, is now a heap of ashes

"Col. Levi Williams, of Green Plains, has ordered out his brigade, it is said, to aid the Anti-Mormons. The Anti-Mormons from Schuyler, and the adjoining counties, are flocking in, and great distress of *life and property* may be expected. *HEAVEN only knows where these proceedings will end. It is time the strong arm of power was extended to quell them.*"

It must be conceded by all, that the above extract looks like a very fair and candid account of the commencement of the mob violence in that county, which finally, as we shall be able to show, resulted in the expulsions above named. It gives us pleasure, in connexion with this subject, to be able to state, that the remarks Mr. Bartlett here makes, in connexion with the account given of the house burnings, were such as truly comported with the dignity and candor of a respectable editor of the press. He here spoke himself, and spoke in behalf of humanity and the law. He here spoke out boldly, that violence was resorted to, and that helpless women and children were thrown out into the storm. "And," said he, "Seriously these outrages should be put a stop to at once;" that it was

as bad as the savages;" and called on the strong arm of power to quell them.

We repeat, again, that S. M. Bartlett here spoke himself, uninfluenced by the demagogues of the day. He spoke as a philanthropist and patriot; and had he been left to himself, in all probability he would never have appealed to any other power than the strong arm of the law; and our beloved country saved from the deep and damnable disgrace of banishing from our land, by mob violence, innocent women and children.

But here this unfortunate editor took leave of his senses on this subject—never more to return. He fell into the hands of professed friends, to become their organ of mob violence; but, we fear, the worst enemies that he could have fallen among. In our opinion Mr. Bartlett will ever have just cause to regret, to the latest day of his existence, that he stooped from the proud and high toned dignity, put forth in the above article, to become the organ of a foul and an unprincipled mob.

Before his next week's paper came out, a public meeting was held in Quincy, at the Court House. This subject was taken up and discussed, and the doctrine of mob violence boldly proclaimed, in a very inflammatory style, by a number of the principle members of the bar in the city of Quincy. Mr. Bartlett stooped to the humiliating position, to become the herald of their violent and startling doctrines, viz: that the Mormons must leave their country, and their homes, by force or otherwise. Hence, in his next week's paper, we hear him obsequiously heralding forth the following sentiments. Here, by the way, we will just stop to say, in our opinion, could Mr. Bartlett have had sufficient firmness of purpose and character, to have resisted and withstood the councils of his *particular* friends, and have spoken out again in his next week's paper, boldly, in opposition to their mobocratic doctrines, and in favor of the strong arm of the law, he might have earned for himself an enviable character amongst the editorial corps, that would have been remembered, with gratitude and respect, by his fellow-citizens, after his voice and pen were silent in the tomb. But hear him in his next week's paper:

"We have," said Mr. Bartlett, "just returned from one of

the most interesting public meetings we have attended for years. It did our souls good to see the unanimity which prevailed, and the determined stand taken by our people, in favor of the suffering citizens of Hancock." Now, the truth is, Mr. Bartlett's enthusiasm, as expressed in the above, was not from any resolutions that were passed, expressive of the sense of said meeting; but, from the decidedly inflammatory speeches of certain gentlemen, who, it seems, chose to lead off in that meeting. For the purpose of showing what effect those speeches had, we will first give some of the principal resolutions, that were reported by a committee, to said public meeting, which was held Monday evening, Sept. 22d, 1845, drawn up previous to hearing the speeches. Secondly, Mr. Bartlett's own version of the speeches; and thirdly, the resolutions that were reported, a few days after, to another meeting, convened to hear the report of the committee that had been sent to Hancock county, by the first meeting.

"Therefore, Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, (and it is their firm conviction,) that the safety of Nauvoo, as well as the welfare of the other citizens of this State, will be best subserved by their removal to some country, in which their peculiar organization will not endanger the public peace; and that, if this measure be not pursued, they ought, at least, to break up their present organization, as a distinct community, and amalgamate with the general population of the State.

"Resolved, That, in the event of such a conflict as is alluded to, and deprecated in the foregoing preamble, the Mormons, warned by past experience, may expect, that the strength and sympathy of an overwhelming majority of the people will be against them.

"Resolved, That this meeting does not intend to approve or condemn the conduct of either of the parties in Hancock county; but, to express its sober conviction as to the probable consequences of the present unhappy state of things, and to commend them to the serious attention of all who are interested therein."

The above resolutions, that were reported to the meeting, before the committee had become excited by the inflammatory speeches to which we have already alluded, must be admitted, were comparatively pacific and temperate in their demands. The first recommended their removal to some place remote from

any community, of which their peculiar organization would be likely to come in conflict; but, if that could not be complied with, at least, they ought to disperse, or *amalgamate* with the people of the State. Let our reader note this last sentence, viz: Amalgamate with the general population of the State, and compare it with one that we will give you presently, reported by the same Chairman of the Committee, to another meeting, only a few days after. The second is likewise temperate, with the exception, only, of the word *strength*, that could be construed with the balance of the resolution, to mean much or little, as occasion might require; but the third, peculiarly temperate,—they here refused to *approve* or *condemn* the conduct of either of the parties. But, in the second place, I will give Mr. Bartlett's own account of the speeches that were made on that occasion.

"Judge RALSTON," said Mr. Bartlett, (here it is proper to inform the reader, that Judge Balston's speech, as alluded to here, was in opposition to violence of any kind,) "was followed by C. A. WARREN, Esq. He was truly eloquent and startling in his remarks, and the old citizens of Hancock received full justice at his hands. He advocated the proposition, that a committee of one thousand, from this county, visit Hancock, and bring the Mormons to terms."

"Previous to this, however, a Committee of five, consisting of Messrs. I. N. MORRIS, H. ASBURY, A. PEARSON, T. KELLEY, Maj. J. H. HOLTON, and JOHN B. SCHWINDLER, were appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions, expressive of the views of the meeting. The preamble and resolutions reported by this committee, will appear in our next. They are strong, and to the point. The preamble recites the wrongs and outrages which the Mormons have brought upon Hancock; and the resolutions in substance declare, that the Mormons cannot live in peace with the old citizens of that county; and that a Committee of five be appointed, to visit Nauvoo, with the proceedings of this meeting, and ascertain from that people, as to what are their future intentions as to leaving the State. The resolutions also disapproved of the burning of Mormon dwellings, and pronounced such acts unlawful, &c.

"While the committee were out, several gentlemen spoke. After Mr. Warren, O. H. BROWNING, Esq., made a spirit-stirring speech, and advocated immediate measures in aid of the old citizens of Hancock. He was followed by A. JONES, Esq., in a most pointed and able speech.

The next called out was I. N. MORRIS, Esq. His speech was a scorching one, and created great applause. We have said many hard things of this man, but can forget a great deal, after his excellent speech of Monday evening. He, like Mr. Jonas, said, if one party or the other were compelled to leave Hancock, he, for one, was decidedly in favor of the Anti-Mormons remaining. (tremendous applause.)

"O. C. SKINNER, Esq., of Carthage, made some interesting statements, showing the outrages of which the Mormons had been guilty.

"ANDREW JOHNSTON, Esq., was called out, and spoke to the point for a few minutes. He was of the opinion that, if we do not assist the old citizens now, we shall have to do it hereafter: and if there is not something done soon, the scenes in Hancock will be enacted at our own doors. "We," said Mr. Bartlett, "echo the sentiment, decidedly."

"GEORGE C. DIXON, Esq., was called out, and took the Anti-Mormon side of the question, in a strong and sensible speech. He was for immediate action. He was very severe upon the Executive of the State, for the loose and indefinite manner in which he administered the laws. The applause with which his speech was received, shows that a spirit is aroused amongst our people, which will not be quenched, until the backs of the Mormons are turned upon Illinois.

"Finally, an amendment proposed by ANDREW JOHNSTON, Esq., to the resolutions, which gave power to the Chairman to call another meeting, so soon as the Committee of five shall return from Nauvoo, was adopted, together with the resolutions, by an unanimous vote.

"The proposition," continued Mr. Bartlett, "for a Committee of *one thousand*, to visit Hancock, meets with universal approbation.

"*Public sentiment is decidedly against the Mormons—THEY MUST GO; and Backenstos feel the full force of the law for killing Worrel!! Our best lawyers pronounce it an act of murder, for which the Sheriff had not the shadow of law.*"

The writer well remembers the time, and was present, and heard the speeches that the editor of the Quincy Whig comments upon, in the article above; and, in his opinion, he has not given them too high a coloring. He will never forget the impressions that these speeches made, at that time, on his own feelings. It was the first time in his life, that he had ever heard a resort to lawless violence, advocated and proclaimed by men in high places, in order to excite the unthinking multitude

to deeds of violence. He had always been taught to look to such men as these, to throw their weight of character and influence, to restrain the unthinking from going into extremes.

He then thought, that when such men as these advocate such doctrines, and in the style that was used on that occasion, that the populous would be sure to carry them out to their ultimate extreme.

For the purpose of showing that this mob spirit was occasioned by the speeches of that meeting, we refer our reader to the article which we have already quoted, from the Quincy Whig; in which paper, only the week before, the editor denounced them, (*the Anti-Mormons*,) "as bad as the savages;" and called on the strong arm of power to quell them. Take, also, the resolutions that were being drawn up by the committee, at the very time that these inflammatory speeches were made, in which the ultimatum, that was required, was, amalgamation among the other people of the State; and in which they refused to approbate or condemn either of the two parties; and, at the most, their sympathy and strength, if called out, would be on the Anti-Mormon side. We say, take all the expressions up to the time that C. A. WARREN opened his mob speech—which was followed by O. H. BROWNING, and others—there was not the slightest indication in this community of a resort to violence. That there was a desire, and an expression for the Mormons to leave, is true; but that there was the slightest indications, on the part of our citizens, generally, to resort to violent measures to accomplish said object, we deny. Only one year before, when the two Smith's were murdered in the Carthage jail—when certain individuals were despatched from Carthage and Warsaw to Quincy, in order to make a false report, viz: that the attack had been made by the Mormons, and they expected that these two places were then burnt to ashes, and Gov. FORD and his detachment murdered; while they must have known, at the same time, that the Smith's had been murdered by a base and treacherous mob of Anti-Mormons. These reports wrought our citizens up to the highest degree of excitement, and three hundred armed men were on board of a steamboat, in the short space of a few hours. And who does

not recollect, that when "all aboard," that our worthy Mayor, JOHN WOOD, Esq., stepped forward, and waved his hat, and called out aloud to his fellow-citizens, as a signal for three cheers for the Constitution and the Laws; that our citizens, both on the boat and the wharf, (hundreds of them being there,) made the welkin ring with applause and approbation. Who does not know that, when our men arrived at Warsaw, and learned the true state of the facts in the case—and when they were urged by the people of Warsaw, and of Hancock county, to join them in a war of extermination of the Mormons,—that they sternly refused, and returned to their homes in disgust—and for which they received the curses of hundreds of the people of Hancock county? Who, we ask, that has a patriot's, and an American heart, that beats warm in his bosom, who loves and respects the Constitution, and Laws of his country, does not look back to these facts with pride, and with pleasure?

We all remember that fatal Monday evening, Sept. 22d, 1845, when the pride and honor of the citizens of Quincy, or a portion of them, at least, through the influence of the speeches to which we have alluded, ceased from that time forth, to abide with becoming confidence, in the strong arm of the law. What a withering gloom must come over our spirits, when history records the painful and melancholy truth, that the people of Quincy, or a portion of them, can no more, from that time forward, claim for themselves that respect which is due a law-abiding community; but, by public meetings, resolutions, speeches, and other public acts, have won for themselves, if not for their children, a large share of that disgrace and infamy, that an intelligent world will be sure to call down upon the actors in the scene.

We cannot for our life, and respect the truth, while we sincerely wish it was otherwise, do less than admit, that the spirit of lawless violence, that was raging in Hancock County at that very time, was recognised and endorsed by these very men, on that evening, and clothed with authority, and an impetus given to it, which continued to accumulate, from that time onward, until it resulted in the late expulsions of Mormons, as well as other citizens, indiscriminately, from that county.

But to show how the opinions, of certain men, continued to change after this public meeting was held. We will give a short paragraph from the Quincy Whig, only a few days after, No. 24, 2nd page, 2nd column:

"It is a settled thing," said Mr. Bartlett, "that the public sentiment of the State is against the Mormons, and it will be in vain for them to contend against it; and to prevent blood shed, and the sacrifice of many lives on both sides, *it is their duty to obey the public will, and leave the State as speedily as possible.* That they will do this, we have a confident hope—and that too, *before the last extreme is resorted to—that of force.*"

Mr. Bartlett says here that public opinion was against them, and that it was their duty to obey. Two weeks before, precisely, he was calling on the strong arm of the law to stop the *old citizens*, and denouncing them "*as bad as the savages;*" but they, the Mormons, *must go*, forsooth, public opinion of the State is against them. How did he find this out?

But we will call the attention of the reader, in the third place, to the report of the committee sent to Nauvoo:

"At half-past one," (the day of the week and month not named, but between the issues of the two papers, and in less than a week's time, the proceedings of both meetings being published in the same number of the Quincy Whig, and on the same page,) "a public meeting was called at the Court House, to hear the report of the committee returned from Nauvoo, A. WILLIAMS, Esq., in the Chair. HENRY ASBURY, Esq., on the part of the committee, made a report of proceedings, while on their mission to Nauvoo. They arrived in the city of the Saints on Wednesday; but as the twelve were absent at Carthage, they had no communication with them until their return, which was about nine o'clock in the evening. They addressed a communication to the twelve, enclosing the proceedings of the meeting held in Quincy, informing that body of the object of their mission, and asking the twelve to inform them, in writing, as to their present intentions in regard to leaving the State. A communication was received, soon after, from the twelve, inclosing a printed proposition, which will be found in another part of this paper. In their note, they say that they do not expect any people will purchase their temple; but that they would be willing to loan it to any respectable community for a church, college, or something of that sort. The committee returned an answer, that they think the proposition of the Mormons was fair in some respects—but they hardly think it was as full and decisive, as under the circumstances, was ne-

cessary. At the conclusion of the report, Mr. H. ASBURY submitted a series of resolutions, which were not entirely satisfactory to all, and upon motion of I. N. MORRIS, Esq., amended by A. JOHNSTON, Esq., it was moved that a committee of nine be appointed by the Chair to report upon the resolutions, at early candlelight, of the same evening. The chair appointed, as the committee of nine, Messrs. I. N. Morris, J. N. Ralston, John P. Robbins, C. A. Warren, J. H. Helton, O. H. Browning, A. Jonas, George C. Dixon, C. M. Woods.

"According to adjournment, the meeting assembled at early candlelight. The committee of nine reported the resolutions, which follow; several of them being in substance the same as recommended by the Nauvoo committee:

"*Resolved*, That we accept, and recommend to the people of the surrounding counties to accept, the proposition made by the Mormons to remove from the State next spring; *but we accept it as an unconditional proposition to remove. We do not intend to bring ourselves under any obligation to purchase their property, or to furnish purchasers for the same, but we will, in no way, hinder or obstruct them in their efforts to sell; and will expect them to dispose of their property and remove at the time appointed.*

"*Resolved*, That it is now too late to attempt the settlement of the difficulties in Hancock County upon any other basis than that of the removal of the Mormons from the State.

"*Resolved*, That whilst we shall endeavor, by all means in our power, to prevent the occurrence of anything which might operate against their removal, and afford the people of Nauvoo any ground of complaint, we shall equally expect good faith upon their part; *and if they shall not comply with their own proposition, the consequences must rest upon them who violate faith. And we now solemnly pledge ourselves to be ready, at the appointed time, to act as the occasion may require;—AND THAT WE WILL IMMEDIATELY ADOPT A PRELIMINARY MILITARY ORGANIZATION, FOR PROMPT FUTURE ACTION, IF OCCASION SHOULD DEMAND.*

"*Resolved*, That, in our opinion, the peace of Hancock county cannot be so far restored as to allow the desired progress to be made, in preparing the way for the removal of the Mormons, while J. B. BACKENSTOS remains Sheriff of said county; and that he ought to resign said office.' "

The above are some of the principal resolutions that were reported, and adopted in said meeting. The first one, in our opinion, is unique. They accepted and recommended to the people of the surrounding counties, to accept an unconditional proposition to remove. But understand Mr. Mormons', though we accept this, and recommend the surrounding counties to do

so, likewise, (reprobate you, unconditionally,) we do not intend to bring ourselves under any obligations to purchase your property, or to furnish purchasers; but we will be *very kind* and *obliging*, and will, in no way, hinder or obstruct *you* in *your efforts to sell*, *Provided*, nevertheless, this shall not be so construed, as to prevent us from running off the purchasers. But we expect this small favor of you, viz: that you must dispose of your property, and leave at the appointed time.

The second resolution demands a passing notice. It stands in the 5th column, and 2d page, of the 24th number of the Quincy Whig; and on the same page stands two resolutions, passed a few days before, and reported by the same Chairman of the Committee, viz: I. N. MORRIS, Esq., in which to *amalgamate* amongst the people of the State, would be satisfactory, and in which they positively refused to approbate or condemn either of the two parties; but now "it is too late to settle the Mormon difficulties" &c. Verily, there is much meaning in the words "*too late*."

In the third resolution we have the child fully born. A MILITARY ORGANIZATION RECOMMENDED—AN ARMY TO BE RAISED. And by whose orders—by what law—and for what purpose? We answer without orders, without law, and to drive free citizens, men, women, and children, from their homes and their country, as the sequel will clearly show. An additional resolution was adopted at the same meeting, reported in the same number of the Quincy Whig, that reads as follows:

"*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed, for the purpose of adopting, and carrying into operation, volunteer military organizations for Adams county; and said committee are hereby authorized to do all things, lawful, necessary and proper, for the purpose of preparing such a force, without delay, to be used, to preserve the peace of this and the adjoining counties."

Yes, "*preserve the peace*." The law had no peace officers, in the eyes of these men. An army must be raised for said purpose. But who are to commission the officers; and "you are hereby authorized," or commissioned, by whom; the Governor of the State? No!

We, at a public meeting in Quincy, commission you to "do *all*

dation of the Carthage Convention. We hear from Brown that a large company is already organized, under the direction of the chivalrous Singleton. As we here in Adams were the first to move in this matter, it becomes us to set the example to other counties. If the Mormons violate their pledged faith, and fail to leave in the Spring according to their own proposition, they may be certain that *CIVIL WAR will be stirred up in these counties*, that will not be quelled until the last vestage of Mormonism disappears from the State." (True prophet, Mr. Bartlett.) "Let us then organize in time for any emergency that may arise. Enrol your names and show that your practice is in accordance with your professions."

In the above article we have a clear pointing to the sequel. And mark, that this item of the history brings us down, (so said Mr. Bartlett,) "that in the Spring we may present a front that will convince the Mormons that the people of the surrounding counties are not to be trifled with."

Mr. Bartlett, in the above, boldly asserts, that "*CIVIL WAR*" was to be the final result of all their parade—of passing resolutions—and getting up military organizations.

In evidence that this Military Committee were actually at duty, and in the receipt of the intelligence of the organization of companies. We now call the attention of the reader again to the Quincy Whig of Nov. 19th, 1845, 3d page, 6th column.

"*NOTICE TO VOLUNTEERS.*"—In the returns which are made to the Military Committee, it is frequently asked whether arms can be furnished to companies, unprovided with them. In answer to all these questions, the committee wish to say, that there are no arms at their disposal; and that the companies which have been, or may be formed, will be expected to arm themselves. *By order of the Committee.*"

We shall now examine the evidence, showing that the Mormons acted in good faith to "their own proposition;" and then we shall take up and examine, whether the Anti-Mormons kept their pledged faith, viz: "that whilst we shall endeavor, by all means in our power, to prevent the occurrence of anything which might operate against their removal; and afford them any ground of complaint, &c." We will now turn the attention of the reader to the Quincy Whig of Oct. 29th, 3d page, 3d column:

"From Nauvoo," said Mr. Bartlett, "we hear that the Mormons are getting ready to leave. They are very anxious to

dispose of their property, on the most reasonable terms. There is a great opening in that county, at the present, for monied men. Farms, in high state of cultivation, with good buildings upon them, can be purchased at very moderate rates. The Mormons will receive in exchange for their property, wagons, beef cattle, of course, and almost everything needed by an emigrant."

Again, in the Quincy Whig of March 11th, 1846, 2d page, 1st column, we find the following:

"But, we believe, it is well ascertained that they, the Mormons, will leave the State—and that an organized party of seven or eight hundred souls, have already crossed the Mississippi, on their way west—and that another company is preparing to start about the 20th of the present month. There will, doubtless, be a large number who will desire to remain; but one thing is certain, there will be no peace for them in Hancock. The recollections of the past are too strongly engraved upon the minds of the old settlers of the county, for them to listen or agree to any terms of compromise with a people who have brought upon them so many grievous burthens, and whose career, from first to last, has been marked with every species of crime, and the violation of every social and religious obligation. The old settlers of the county will be satisfied with nothing less than a full and complete agreement with the terms of the Carthage Convention of last September; and, we tell the Mormons, *individually and collectively*, that the counties represented in that convention are determined that the *mandate* of that *body* shall be carried out to the *letter*. In fact, a *military organization has been effected in the counties aforesaid, with the determination*—and if the necessity arises, for the exercise of the *strong arm of power* to effect the object, that power will be forthcoming at the *appointed time*."

In the Whig of the 25th of March, 2d page, 1st column, Mr. Bartlett again reiterates the same sentiment:

"But, we believe, they are leaving the State as fast as their means will admit."

In the Quincy Whig, Tuesday, April 21st, 3d page, we find the following letter from Major Warren, commander of the Hancock Guards, copied, (said Mr. Bartlett,) from the Nauvoo paper:

CARTHAGE, April 16, 1846.

WM. E. MATLOCK, Esq.:—Will you permit me, through the medium of your paper, to announce to the citizens of Hancock, that I have been directed by his Excellency, Gov. Ford, to dis-

band the force under my command on the first of May proximo? It seems to be the understanding of the executive, and the State at-large, that the terms stipulated for the removal of the Mormons will expire on that day, I indulge a hope that the understanding so general may not be disappointed.

The removal of the *entire Mormon population* has been looked forward to as an event that could alone restore peace and quiet to this portion of our State; and, for the peace of the inhabitants, and honor of the State, public expectation must be gratified.

With great respect, I am, &c.,

W. B. WARREN,

Major Commanding Illinois Volunteers."

Mr. Bartlett adds, himself, immediately below the above:

"We understand from the above," said he, "that Gov. Ford intends to comply, and is determined that the Mormons shall comply with the terms of agreement entered into by that people with the State authorities last fall, viz: that, as soon as water runs, and the grass grows, this spring, the Mormons were to leave the State. That time has arrived, and the Mormons are given to the first of May to fulfil their agreement. If, after that time, the Mormons still remain in the State, the Governor will not be accountable for the *outrages that may be the consequence.*"

In the same column of the Quincy Whig, a little lower down, he says: "We are permitted to copy an extract of a letter from a *leading Anti-Mormon*, at Carthage, dated April 17th:

"The Governor has given orders for disbanding the troops on the 1st of May; I fear the consequences. It is extremely doubtful if an outbreak can be prevented, till the last, or even the middle of May; in which case, the ruin of our county is almost inevitable. It would take long to rally the people of surrounding counties, so early in the season; and the extremity must be great which could call them from their farms, before seeding and planting were over. Many of us will spare no efforts to keep things quiet; but there are many others, I am convinced, who are anxious for a *row*; and I know of no power to prevent their setting one on foot."

In the same paper from which we have extracted the above intelligence, is found the following:

ANTI-MORMON MEETING.—"As the troops are about to disband in Hancock county, by order of the Governor, a meeting of the citizens of Adams county, will be held at the Court House, in Quincy, on THURSDAY EVENING, at 7½ o'clock, to consider the subject of *the removal of the Mormons from this State.*"

Now let us call the attention of the reader to the above extracts. First, there is a fair acknowledgement, from a *leading* Anti-Mormon of Carthage, communicating the intelligence, that it would be exceedingly difficult to prevent a row, and that there were *many determined on having one*. But the most astonishing of all is, that the Military Committee should deem it of sufficient account to issue orders forthwith, for a public meeting at the Court House. What they could see in such a threatening state of things as the above extract brings to view, demanding a public meeting, we are totally unable to say; but such are the facts in the case. And the proceedings of said meeting we now proceed to give in full, and beg leave to call the close attention of the reader to them.

Quincy Whig, April 29th, 1846, 2d page, 4th column:

“ANTI-MORMON MEETING IN ADAMS COUNTY.”

“Agreeable to previous notice, the citizens of Quincy assembled at the Court House, in said place, on Thursday Evening, April 23d. The meeting was called to order, by appointing A. WILLIAMS, Esq., Chairman, and W. H. BENNESON, Secretary.

“On motion of I. N. Morris, a Committee of five was appointed, to draft and report a preamble and resolutions, expressive of the sense of this meeting. I. N. Morris, E. J. Phillips, Col. Chittenden, B. T. Osburn, and Capt. Schwindler, constituted said Committee.

“After a few moments retirement, the Committee reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

“WHEREAS, the embittered and active hostilities existing between the Mormons and the old citizens of Hancock, and the north part of this county, reached such a crisis during last fall, that it became necessary for the surrounding country to interpose, in order to effect a permanent settlement of the difficulties; And, Whereas, it was evident to all, that nothing short of the removal of the Mormons from the State, would restore peace and quiet to the county; And, Whereas, the citizens of this city and vicinity, deeply impressed with the truth of this sentiment, and sincerely desirous of terminating the controversy existing between the contending parties—appointed a committee to visit Nauvoo, and ascertain from the Mormon leaders, or the ‘Twelve,’ their views and feelings relative to removing from the State; And, Whereas, the ‘Twelve’ submitted a printed proposition to said committee, that they would remove from the State, together with all their people, as soon in the spring ‘as grass grew and water run.’—(That it is a mistaken idea, that we have proposed to remove in six months, for that would be so early in the spring, that grass might not grow, nor water run—both of which would be necessary for our removal. But we propose to use our influence, to have no more seed time and harvest among our people in this county, after gathering our present crop.) And (Provided certain propositions, necessary for the accomplishment of our removal, shall be observed, as follows, to wit: that the citizens of this and the surrounding counties, and all men, will use their influence and exertions to help us to sell or rent our properties, so as to get means enough that we can help the widow, the fatherless and the destitute, to remove with us)—which is ‘Their own Proposition.’ And, Whereas, said Committee reported said proposition to an adjourned meeting held in this city, and recommended its adoption; And, Whereas, said meeting did accept said proposition, and have acted upon it in good faith; And, Whereas, a Convention of the counties surrounding Hancock, subsequently met in Carthage, pur-

ed Mr. Bartlett that there were from three to five thousand Mormons preparing to remain? Forsooth, a few were seen planting gardens. And was it to be presumed, because a few of the Mormons were planting a garden, that they, therefore, of necessity were preparing to stay in Hancock? Was it, indeed, the fact, that a Mormon was even to be deprived of the privilege of planting a patch of garden stuff, in order to keep his family from starving, until the necessary preparations could be made to go? Was it to be presumed every individual Mormon could have a buyer at his door, early in the spring, who would purchase his effects, and thereby give him wherewith to leave? And because they could not work a miracle and bring this about, they, therefore, to please these *redoubtable old citizens* of Hancock, must be deprived of the small favor of raising a little garden stuff, which any body but fools or madmen could but know they must do, or suffer for their daily food. Suppose they had even planted their crops, and had them actually growing—which we presume was not the case, or we would have heard of it—ready for the buyer to step in and take possession of, thereby bringing their property into ready demand, would there have been the least wrong in it, except to an *old citizen* of Hancock? If the time of these *old citizens* had been spent in purchasing and aiding them to procure purchasers, how much more creditable to them than watching their *gardens*. How much more reputable, to an editor of the press, to have been engaged in advocating the just and reasonable claims of humanity, by advertising the world of the numerous bargains that were to be obtained from these doomed and deluded people, and in this way have rendered them an essential benefit, rather than heralding forth to the world such nonsense.

Would it be any wonder, to a sensible people, that a large community of from fifteen to twenty thousand souls—hundreds of them known to be abjectly poor and destitute, and hundreds more of them, the widows of deceased husbands, who had come to an untimely grave through the exposure which their fanaticism had led them, and by the diseases incident to all new countries, and having, also, just passed through an inclement

winter, and even not permitted in the spring to plant a garden, without the public press groaning with the intelligence thereof—could be, (many of them,) in other circumstances than would make it almost indispensable for them to steal or suffer? Yet, from the people they would be most likely to steal, viz: the *new citizens*, we hear but little or no complaint.

“We give,” said Mr. Bartlett, “an account of the occurrence in Hancock, to-day, from the pen of a gentleman at Carthage. This may be considered the Anti-Mormon side of the question; on the contrary, we have had a conversation with several of the new citizens of Nauvoo, who assure us that there are many mistakes in the statements aforesaid. There are less than a thousand Mormons, men, women, and children, in Nauvoo, and that number is lessening every day, from emigration that is still going on. That, if let alone, they will leave in a very short time. That no Mormons have returned to Nauvoo from the camp; and that none will return, unless they are compelled to do so, for the defence of the city. This is the statement as we have it from certain of the new citizens, at Nauvoo. We do not know what the sentiment is in other counties, in relation to the present aspect of affairs in Hancock, but so far as we can understand them, the public sentiment of this county, a disposition prevails to stand aloof, and have nothing further to do with the difficulties in that county. The Mormons, from every account, are leaving the State as fast as their limited means will allow, and it is asking too much of them to march to Nauvoo, to *exterminate* the miserable remnant of Mormons left there. When the Mormons were strong and powerful, and were guilty of crime and outrages, the citizens of the surrounding counties pledged themselves to aid in removing the annoyance; but since then the state of affairs has become entirely different—the most of the Mormons have left—and others constantly going. Then why, by any indiscreet and imprudent act, exasperate not only the remnant of Mormons left, already desperate, but also provoke hostilities with those citizens who have purchased Mormon property, and thereby defeat the very object they have so much at heart, viz: the removal of the Mormons from the State.”

“A public meeting was called in this city, on Wednesday last, to take into consideration Hancock affairs. Statements were made by Messrs. Pickett and Clifford, of Nauvoo, and by Mr. Geddes on the part of the Anti-Mormons of Hancock; after explanations had been made on both sides, a motion was made for adjournment, which was carried almost unanimously. From the fact, that our citizens, in public meeting, decided to

adjourn without taking any action on the matter in controversy, we have come to the conclusion, as stated above, that our citizens are disposed to stand aloof, and to leave matters to take their own course."

We now give below the statement of a gentleman from Carthage, which Mr. Bartlett said might be "considered the Anti-Mormon side of the question," found reported in the Quincy Whig, Wednesday morning, 24th June:

"Statement, in relation to the recent occurrences in Hancock."

"CARTHAGE, June 15th, 1846.

"MR. BARTLETT—*Dear Sir*:—This county has recently been the theatre of a drama of a singular and rather serious character, and concerning which many erroneous accounts will, no doubt, be sent abroad. I will, therefore, take the liberty of giving you a correct statement of the affair, so far as I can learn its history from others; for, owing to absence from the county, I saw and knew nothing of it, personally, up to Saturday morning last.

On Saturday, the 6th inst., there was a meeting at Carthage of the citizens of Hancock, in pursuance of previous notice, to make arrangements for a celebration on the approaching 4th of July. At an early stage of the meeting, a resolution passed, to the effect that, as the Mormons were not yet all removed from the county, its citizens were not free; and, therefore, public rejoicings for the blessings of freedom, would be out of place. The meeting then went into a consideration of Mormon affairs, and finally adjourned, to meet again on Friday, the 12th inst., to enquire why the Mormon population had not all left the county, by the first of June, according to the agreement, and to decide upon the proper mode of action, to be adopted in view of their failure to depart; and an invitation was sent to the new citizens of Nauvoo, to attend that meeting. This was designed and expected to be strictly a citizen's meeting, for the purpose of enquiry and deliberation only. But its appointment happened to be on the same day with that appointed by the Governor for the assembling of the militia of the county, to raise volunteers for the Mexican war. This circumstance suggested the idea to some person, that it might, to good purpose, be converted into a demonstration against the Mormons still remaining in Nauvoo, and quicken their motions in removing, which had, of late, very much slackened.

The suggestion was made to one of the military officers of the county, and struck him as being a good one; and without taking time to consult, or reflect much upon it, he despatched an official communication, (that is, an *officer's* communication, brief and decisive,) to his fellow-officers, stating that it was thought best to thus change the object of the gathering at Carthage, on Friday, and requesting them to concur in the movement, to notify their under officers and companies to appear on the ground prepared, and provisioned for a few day's campaign, or encampment. The officers to whom this communication was sent, took it for granted, that the thing was settled; that the assembling was to be for this purpose, and without stopping to decide or enquire much into the expediency of the movements, gave the required notice to the soldiers under their command. The soldiers, as is a soldier's wont, obeyed promptly, and without questioning the propriety or authority for the measure. So that, in effect, some three or four hundred men assembled on Friday, with appearances decidedly Anti-Mormon, without knowing how or why the matter was set on foot; but supposing that it was well considered and concerted somewhere, and by somebody. Neither had they any definite idea of the plan and ultimate object in view, whether they were to fight or frolic; and were, many of them, about as well prepared for one as the other.

After coming together, the question came naturally to be considered,

what they should do; and it was what the lawyers would call a *new question*. It had not, as yet, been decided, nor considered at all, by anybody. There was a pretty general inclination to march into Nauvoo, and accelerate the removal of the Mormons. It seemed to be supposed that, by threatening the reluctant, by assisting such as were unable to go, and working upon the fears of all, the city could, without violence, be cleared of Mormons in two or three days. Mistaking altogether the true condition of things in Nauvoo, and greatly underestimating the number of Mormons still there, they seemed to think that the only obstacle to their entering the city, would be the objections of new citizens, which they thought to obviate by an assurance of friendly purposes, and a pledge to abstain from all destruction or injury of property. But the objections of the new citizens were not so easily removed; they had been lied to, and abused, in reference to the character and aims of the old citizens of the county; and time and better acquaintance were required to overcome their prejudices and distrust. It was, therefore, determined to take up an encampment at Golden's Point, within five or six miles of Nauvoo, and there await the effect of further conferences in removing the scruples of the new citizens; or, 'till the terror of their being assembled in force, should frighten away the remaining Mormons, who had now recommenced leaving the city, with great hurry and expedition.

They accordingly proceeded to Golden's Point, on Friday evening. During Saturday, interviews were had with committees of the new citizens, which brought the parties into friendly acquaintance, and mutual esteem for each other—but did not effect a definite conclusion; and the subjects under consideration were postponed to the next morning, for decision.

But in the mean time, the aspect of affairs became entirely changed. Several hundred Mormons had secretly returned from Iowa, many of them, with Stephen Markham from the camp of the Twelve—completely armed, and prepared, and determined upon fighting. Baekenstos had summoned them and all the Mormons in Nauvoo to turn out, as a posse, to attack and disperse the encampment, and many of the new citizens, some of them deceived as to the designs of the old citizens, but most of them being Mormons, and Jack-Mormons in disguise, had enrolled themselves under his standard. Altogether, he had mustered a force of eight hundred or a thousand men; and a better armed, or more desperate, blood-thirsty band, never met on the face of the earth.

The attack was to be made on Sunday. The citizens encamped were, therefore, unexpectedly reduced to the alternative—either of engaging in a desperate conflict, or leaving the ground; which course, a rational regard to consequences required them to adopt, there could be no doubt. Their number was but about one-third or one-half that of the Mormons; and they were imperfectly armed, and almost destitute of ammunition. As they had left their homes without the expectation of battle or bloodshed, they were totally unprepared for such a struggle. The consequences of a defeat, moreover, would not end with their own lives. There was little doubt that it would be followed by indiscriminate plundering and destruction; and there was too much reason to fear that in the phrenzies and tumults, the new citizens in Nauvoo, who are friendly to us, might fall a sacrifice.

The encampment, therefore, immediately retreated to Carthage, and there disbanded for the present, *pledging themselves to return promptly*, at the call of their officers, *but with a clear understanding of the job before them*—and better preparations for its accomplishment. This whole business was unadvised and indiscreet, on the part of the Anti-Mormons. All now acknowledged it to have been so; and, had a consultation been held upon the subject, either among the officers or citizens of the county, before it was gone into, it would not have been undertaken; but it was merely *indiscreet, not criminal, nor cruel in its object*. There was no design to injure the persons or property of anybody in Nauvoo. The sole purpose was, by a hostile demonstration, to hasten off the remaining Mormons, who had begun to manifest indifference on the subject of removing, and many of them an intention of remaining.

fight the posse commitatus, they shall be forced into the front ranks. On Thursday last a mob assembled at the store of Mr. Hartwell, one of these new citizens, and there, under the very nose of Major Parker himself, committed the most aggravating outrages. On Friday, Doctor Irwin, another new citizen, was brutally assaulted in the streets of Nauvoo, for no other reason than that he wished to stand aloof and take no part in the proceedings of a Mormon mob. These new citizens have appealed to Major Parker for protection; but he told them it was not in his power to protect them from the mob of Mormons, and therefore many of them have been compelled to seek safety and refuge out of the city.

Now, fellow-citizens, an issue is fairly formed. On the one hand, a large body of men have assembled at Carthage, under the command of a legal officer, to assist him in performing legal duties. They are not excited—they are cool, but determined, at all hazards, to execute the law in Nauvoo, which has always, heretofore, defied it. They are resolved to go to work systematically and with ample preparation, but under a full knowledge that on their good and orderly behavior their character is staked. On the other hand, in Nauvoo is a blustering Mormon mob, who have defied the law, and who are now organized for the purpose of arresting the arm of civil power. Judge ye which is in the right.

Your fellow-citizens,

ARCHIBALD WILLIAMS,	} Of Adams County.
JOHN B. CHITTENDEN,	
THOMAS MORRISON,	} Of Hancock County.
JOHN D. MELLE,	
WESLEY WILLIAMS,	
JASON H. SHERMAN,	
JOHN H. MITCHELL,	Of Warren County.
THOS. S. BROCKMAN,	} Of Brown County.
JAMES W. SINGLETON,	

Carthage, August 29th, 1846.

To the above issue we now call the close attention of the reader, and invite him, before proceeding, to cast his eye over this learned and labored document a second time, and again look at the signatures, for we have no doubt you are ready to conclude, after looking over the above document, and the men that put it forth, be it true or false, that they, at least, would not be guilty of signing another, that would be a positive contradiction to the one we have under investigation. Before we proceed, however, to the examination of this document, as the name of Major Parker is introduced into it in a very unceremonious manner, and in a style that would lead the reader, who is not acquainted with the circumstances, under which this gentleman came to Nauvoo, to imagine that he was some common blackguard, rather than a military officer, ordered to that point by the highest authority known to the State of Illinois. Did we say the highest authority known to the State? We will take that back. We should have said, known to all loyal

good citizens of the State of Illinois, these Hancock mobocrats, and their allies, excepted. We here remark, in order to give the reader an understanding of the unfairness, to say nothing worse of it, with which this dastardly mob was managed, that, hitherto, all the quotations, it will be observed, have been made from the Quincy Whig. The last document, you observe, is from an "extra," printed at the Warsaw Signal office, which was, so soon as received by Mr. Bartlett, posted up at his door, without consuming time to reprint, in order to give it to the public without delay. But let us ask, was there an extra issued to inform the public that such a document was in existence, as the one we are now about to give? Was it ever even printed in the weekly number of the Quincy Whig? We answer it was not. Does there not appear to have been a design, in all this, to keep out of sight of the people, by garbled extracts and designing innuendoes, the fact that Major Parker was there, by order of the Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of the State of Illinois, while these men were doing their utmost, by disseminating such documents as the above, to fan the flame of discord and insubordination, and rush the people on, in their madness, to the commission of the highest crime known to the laws of God and man, viz: murder, and that of warring against their own government. But to Major Parker's orders. "Quincy Herald, September 4th, 1846."

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, *Springfield August 24, 1846.*

To Major JAMES R. PARRER, of the 32d Regiment of the Illinois Militia.

Sir—I have received information that another effort is to be made on Monday next, to drive the inhabitants of Nauvoo, new as well as old, and destroy the city. I am informed that it is believed in the surrounding counties that the new citizens in Nauvoo are all Mormons and that the remnant of the old Mormon population are determined to remain there, although I am assured that the contrary in both particulars is the truth.

You are, therefore, hereby authorized and empowered to repair to Nauvoo and there remain until you are relieved. You will immediately enquire how many of the inhabitants are new citizens and how many of them are Mormons. How many of the old Mormon population remain, and what the prospect is of their removal in a reasonable time, and in case an attack on the city should be attempted or threatened, you are hereby authorized to take command of such volunteers as may offer themselves *free of cost to the State*, to repel it and to defend the city. You will also have full power to pursue and in aid of a peace-officer with a proper warrant, arrest the rioters who may threaten or attempt such an attack and bring them to trial.

You will have power with an armed posse to assist any peace-officer in making arrests and with a like force will guard the prisoners to and during their trial and as long as you may believe them to be in danger of mob violence.

You will, also, from time to time, publish in the Nauvoo and Quincy papers the results of your investigations, and a brief history of your proceedings.

You are, also, authorized to accept of the services of ten men as volunteers from Fulton county, to serve under you in performing the above services, who will be paid for their service.

I am respectfully your obedient servant,

THOMAS FORD, *Gov. and Com.-in-Chief.*"

PROCLAMATION.

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, } ss.
HANCOCK CNTY. }

Whereas, I, JAMES R. PARKER, Major of the 32d Regiment of the Militia of the State of Illinois, have been ordered with a portion of said regiment to rendezvous in the said county of Hancock, to preserve the peace and for other purposes:

Whereas, also, I am credibly informed that large bodies of armed men are assembling themselves together in various parts of said county, with the avowed intention of disturbing the peace of said county:—

I, THEREFORE, in the name of the people of the State of Illinois, and by virtue of the power in me vested by the Governor of said State, hereby call upon and order all good citizens in said county to return to their homes, and keep the peace of said county, and not again assemble themselves together, unless called upon so to do by me, to enable me to preserve the peace of said county, or to assist the proper officer in serving writs in his hands.

Given under my hand at Nauvoo, Hancock county, Illinois, Aug. 25, 1846.
JAMES R. PARKER, *Major.*"

In the above document can be seen who this man was, that these would-be regulators of nations chose to speak of so meanly. We will just say, in this place, as we have chosen heretofore to speak of Governor Ford's conduct, in strong terms of condemnation, that there is much in this to relieve him from censure.* In any other country, these orders to Major Parker from the Governor, would have been respected and obeyed. We have no hesitancy to say, that they would have been considered, by good citizens, as an act of kindness in the Executive. He proposed to relieve them of the seeming necessity of civil war, by sending a disinterested officer to aid them to serve any legal processes that they might not, (owing to the peculiar circumstances in that county,) be able to accomplish, without danger of civil insurrection. But, no; these insurgents—these revolutionizers to our country and her laws, chose rather to suppress and misconstrue the orders of the Executive, and rush the people on, in their madness, to the utmost extreme in their power.

* We do not design here to be understood as relieving the Governor of any part of that deep censure his subsequent conduct to this, merits, for his unparalleled neglect of duty, as Commander-in-Chief, by permitting Majors Parker and Clifford to remain there, unrelieved, to be driven from the field in disgrace, or massacred by the mob.

Whether the people of Nauvoo did, as these men state, "pass resolutions, to the effect, that they would not give up those of their number accused of crime, and made immediate preparations, by organizing companies, for resistance to the legal authorities," we know not; we have never seen them. We should have thought they would have been seized upon by these mobocrats, and published by their organ, in large letters, as so much capital. At any rate, it would have been quite as easy for these men to have given the resolutions "*verbatim et literatum*." If they have fallen as far short in this particular, as you readily perceive they did, in giving the public a correct understanding of Major Parker's true position, we should be inclined to the opinion that they have given a perversion of them. The legal part of this learned and labored document—as we are no lawyer—we will leave for some tyro in that profession to notice.

These gentlemen seemed to complain of Major Parker for attempting to understand their true design, viz: to set Mormons and new citizens over the river. And mark the studied and evasive manner in which they attempt to refute this charge:

"As we are," said they, "better acquainted with the state of feeling in Mr. Carlin's posse, than it is possible for a man to be who will not venture out of Nauvoo to learn the true position of things, but who appears to rely entirely on flying reports, and the expressions of irresponsible and interested individuals, we will state, for the satisfaction of the public, that the possee assembled here is the most orderly and obedient to orders of superiors, of any body of men of the same magnitude, ever assembled in this county; that they do *not appear like nor act like a mob*; but pledge themselves to confine their operations to that which is strictly *LEGAL*—that they are commanded by men who will suffer no unnecessary *outrage* on either *person* or *property*—that they are determined that the law shall be executed in Nauvoo, and that the inhabitants of that place shall be taught that their city is not impregnable, and cannot be a harbor longer for thieves, counterfeiters and cut-throats."

Now, have these men, in all the above article, told us whether it was, or was not, their purpose to set Mormons and new citizens over the river? With all their audacity they could not key themselves up to say right out that which they knew would have been a falsehood, to wit: that it was not their object so to

should be looked upon, as he doubtless will, by all good men, with commiseration, while the men, who led on in these deeds of darkness, will receive the unmitigated detestation of an intelligent world.

The next thing to which we propose to call attention, we find in the Quincy Whig, September 2d, being a part of a report of the proceedings connected with the doings of a committee of one hundred, sent up by the Anti-Mormons of Quincy, nominally a committee of *meditation*, but ostensibly to help the mob do what, to all appearances, they could not accomplish without the loss of blood:

“Copy of General Brockman’s ultimatum, the original of which was sent to the officer commanding in Nauvoo, and the Trustees of the Church:

“HEAD QUARTERS, Camp Nauvoo, September 15.

“Sir—Yours of this instant has been received, and we are sorry to say we cannot accede to all your propositions, and on our part will make the following, as the last and only proposition we can accept:

1st. That the persons, against whom Mr. Carlin has writs, in the city, must be surrendered.

2d. That this entire posse be permitted to march into the city, so soon as we see proper, and quarter there until the other proposition can be carried into effect.

3d. That the Mormons leave the State within five days from this time.

4th. That all the persons who have taken up arms to resist this posse, and are found in this county twenty-four hours after this treaty is signed—be delivered up to a civil officer of the county.

5th. That all persons who have taken up arms against the posse, march out and stack their arms immediately.

6. That the Mormons be permitted to leave five agents, with their families, until the first of May next, if necessary, for the purpose of disposing, of their property.

7th. That all their arms shall be delivered to some person, to be selected by the Mormons, so soon as the foregoing propositions are complied with.

8th. If the foregoing propositions are complied with, we pledge our selves, that no destruction of person or property shall take place.

THOMAS S. BROCKMAN, Commander of
John Carlin’s posse, Hancock county.

In the above, it will be observed, the terms are brought down still closer, “within five days,” two hours only given for all persons—not Mormons—who had unfortunately taken up arms against the posse, to leave the county or submit. That all persons who had taken up arms against the posse, march out and stack their arms immediately. Now, the heading of this document, all will perceive, addresses itself to two classes of persons in Nauvoo; first, the officers commanding in Nauvoo; secondly, the trustees of the Mormon church. Well, let the church go. But, then, we ask, who was the commander

in Nauvoo, to which this demand to surrender and stacking of arms is made? Was it not to Major Clifford, then in command, and who was acting under a commission and orders from the executive of the State, which orders, to our knowledge, were read to Mr. Brockman, but a few days before, in order that he might be apprised of whom and what he was warring against? Then, if it be true, that Major Clifford was ordered to defend that place, as none will deny, by the Governor, did not T. S. Brockman, on Sept. 15th, 1846, in his demand to all persons to march out and stack their arms immediately, as the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Illinois, had invested his name and authority in the person of Major Clifford, demand, through him, to the Governor of Illinois, to march out and ground his arms immediately? Will Governor Ford submit to this? Will the good people of Illinois suffer such insolent indignities flung at them through their chief magistrate? "March out and stack your arms immediately!" Will they, in sight of an intelligent world, suffer this insurgent to run at large, in their midst, a triumphant conqueror, (not of the civil only,) but of the military power of this State. Are they willing that this shall be written as a part of their history. And all found in this communication—which we boldly say, without fear of successful contradiction—bears on its own face, evidence sufficient, if none other, that his object was to set all law and authority at open defiance, and trample it under his rebellious feet. And, Great God! shall we tell it to the world, when he and his damnable mob have gained a perfect triumph, and now by the same means resorted to before, viz: a system of mob meetings and resolutions, have already commenced a crusade against another class of their fellow-citizens, whom they call Jack-Mormons, but of whom every honest man knows to be that portion of this community who are opposed to violence and mobs, and in favor of law and order. And when the Governor, mainly, as we believe, through the influence of the good people of Springfield, has marched a small force, in his own person, to Hancock county, to protect the newly-proscribed persons of that county, he, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Illinois, permits this insurgent, at this very moment,

to dog him from place to place, and in a public meeting, almost in his very presence, declare that, so soon as his back is turned, he will expel them again, "*less tenderly than before.*"

There is another thing that, we think, ought to be noted in this "ultimatum" of Brockman's, that will explain why it is now necessary that the Governor should be in Nauvoo; and certain gentlemen in Quincy, are mocking at his efforts to reinstate new citizens, that were chased away with, or before the Mormons. In this we see the Mormons were to have five days, but other persons to *leave immediately*; which shows, conclusively, that it was a part of their policy to banish other persons besides Mormons, which is another of their climaxes of iniquity. Not enough to ground their arms in submission, and become obedient to mob rule; but banishment, immediately, was their doom; and the secret of this operation should come out—the most of the new citizens who were required to go immediately were merchants, and had property, that must be left behind, and which could be plundered. If not this, why forced off sooner than the Mormons? "Can the Committee of one hundred tell?"

But the next item in this history to which we call attention, is a part of the doings of the Committee of one hundred, as it was called—which, by the way, turned out to be less than sixty, designating themselves, as we now discover from looking over their proceedings, as a committee of the citizens of Quincy, and which we beg leave to correct; and state, that said committee was chosen and sent by a meeting of Anti-Mormons of Quincy, in which meeting it was publicly proclaimed, that none but decided Anti-Mormons must go on said committee; and that several who were appointed on the said committee, supposing them of the same stripe as themselves, refused to go on that account. But, to the point: This committee, after asking, first, that hostilities might cease, pending negotiations. What next think ye, reader, was brought out? Can you imagine? Come! we have a legal man down at the desk now, viz: ANDREW JOHNSTON, Esq. There will be none of Singleton's, Brockman's, and Carlin's mistakes and blunders—the "issue fairly formed," will be brought out now. Mr. Johnston lays hold of this subject with a masterly hand,

The issue is to be fully set forth, and written with a legal pen, taken, no doubt, from Quincy—"be silent, oh ye heavens, and listen oh earth"—the "issue fairly formed," and pronounced by ANDREW JOHNSTON, Esq., of Quincy, viz: "*That the basis of the accommodation, be the removal of the Mormons from Nauvoo.*" Truth, Mr. Johnston—exactly what was, and always had been the basis of their operations—except what, probably, you did not know; or, if you did, you did not wish to say, viz: that certain new citizens were to be added to the basis. Did Mr. Johnston believe his friends, Mr. Williams, Chittenden, and others, when they stated the issue was to *serve a writ*, and take the body of William Pickett. He did not; and he knew, that to make that the basis of his mediation, would not be entertained a single moment by Brockman and his mob.

But we come now to our last proof, to show that the issue, as it was called, and signed by Archibald Williams, Col. Chittenden, and others, was *false*. Taken, also, from the Quincy Whig, same number of the last:

Articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, made and entered into, this sixteenth of September, A. D., 1846, between Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Haywood, and John S. Fullmer, Trustees in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints of the one part—Thomas S. Brockman, commander of the posse, and John Carlin, special constable and civil head of the posse of Hancock county, of the second part—and Andrew Johnson, chairman of the citizens of Quincy, of the third part—

1. The city of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Col. Brockman, to enter and take possession of the city to-morrow, the 17th of September, at three o'clock, P. M.

2. The arms to be delivered to the Quincy committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river.

3. The Quincy committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence, and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.

4. The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.

5. The Mormon population of the city to leave the State, or disperse as soon as they can cross the river.

6. Five men, including the Trustees of the Church, and five clerks, with their families, (Wm. Pickett not one of the number,) to be permitted to remain in the city for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

7. Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy committee, to enter the city in the execution of their duty as soon as they think proper.

We, the undersigned, subscribe to, ratify, and confirm the foregoing articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, the day and year first above written.

ALMON W. BABBITT,	} Trustees in Trust for the Church	
JOSEPH L. HAYWOOD,		of Jesus Christ of Latter Day
JOHN S. FULLMER,		Saints.
ANDREW JOHNSON, Chairman of the Com. of Quincy.		
THOS. S. BROCKMAN, Commanding Posse.		
JOHN CARLIN, Special Constable.		

afterward, upon a second effort, on the part of Messrs. Wood and Rice, for terms of peace or compromise, when they had succeeded in obtaining a written proposition, from him and his tool of a constable, with a pledge that all hostilities should cease, (this was in the afternoon of the day,) until 9 o'clock the next morning, before they had got out of gun shot, on their way to the opposite party, he commenced firing again with small arms and artillery. Our observation of this mob brought fresh to our recollection all we had imagined of the horrors of the French revolution, as has the repeated mob meetings, of which we have already spoken, the Jacobin clubs of Paris. But hear Mr. Brayman:

“Under these circumstances, the Quincy Committee found it difficult to interpose their meditation, and were compelled to perform their duties a portion of the time while hostilities were in active progress, during which flags of truce, under which they communicated with the respective parties, could not wholly shield their persons from danger. It was feared that the final struggle would be brought on before the committee could produce an accommodation. The Anti-Mormon force, was within striking distance of the city—determined to enter, at all hazards, and equally determined, if resisted, to make the destruction of life and property complete. Nothing but their respect for that committee, *all of their own party, and many of them active leaders in it*, held them back from a headlong assault, in which they would have been victorious it is true, but at an expense of life and property, and amidst scenes of barbarous outrage.—Fearing the worst, business of every kind was suspended in the city, citizens were removing their property, and families were fleeing their devoted habitations. Those who could find boats went up or down the river, and many were permitted to cross, notwithstanding the hostility to them on the other side.—Provisions were scarce, and suffering and destitution extensively prevailed.

On Wednesday, the 16th, the Committee succeeded in bringing the parties to terms. The articles of capitulation have all the forms and sanctions required on the surrender of a conquered city in a war between nations—the citizens of Nauvoo being, however, by the terms, banished instead of becoming prisoners of war. If I may be indulged in a digression from so grave a theme, I suggest that when the well-protected—well-fed—well-patronized, half-civilized—robbing *rancheros*, who inhabit the conquered city of Metamoros, read these terms, (if

read they can,) they will rejoice that they are not citizens of the State of Illinois.

Presuming that there is not another such a treaty extant—that it is the *first* and *only* one of its kind ever made among people professing to have learned the first rudiments of civilization and humanity, and trusting that it will be the *last*, I here give you a copy, as it was finally ratified and signed by the contracting parties.

As soon as these articles were concluded, the firing ceased, Major Clifford, signified his intention to withdraw his forces from the city. No volunteers having joined him from any other quarter, his force consisted of those only—new citizens and Mormons, whom he found under arms on taking the command, not probably exceeding at any time, 250 men. These terms were not definitely signed until the morning of Thursday, the 17th, but confident of their ratification, the Mormon population had been busy through the night in removing. So firmly had they been taught to believe that their lives, their city and temple, would surely fall a sacrifice to the vengeance of their enemies, if surrendered to them, that they fled in consternation determined to be beyond their reach at all hazards. This scene of confusion, fright and distress, was continued throughout the forenoon. In every part of the city scenes of destitution, misery and woe met the eye. Families were hurrying away from their homes, without a shelter,—without means of conveyance—without tents, money, or a day's provision, with as much of their household stuff as they could carry in their hands. Sick men and women were carried upon their beds—weary mothers with helpless babes dying in their arms hurried away—all fleeing, they scarcely knew or cared whither, so it was from their enemies, whom they feared more than the waves of the Mississippi, or the heat, and hunger and lingering life and dreaded death of the prairies on which they were about to be cast. The ferry boats were crowded, and the river bank was lined with anxious fugitives, sadly awaiting their turn to pass over and take up their solitary march to the wilderness.

Every precaution was used to secure the observance of the pledge to "protect person and property from violence," on the entrance of the Anti-Mormon force, and during their stay in the city, as provided in the above stipulations. This was a source of anxiety to the Quincy Committee; and in the belief that the faith thus solemnly pledged, would be observed, I used my utmost endeavors to quiet the apprehensions of the people of Nauvoo, on this point. In addition to those stipulations, I find in the published report of the Committee, that "after the column of march was formed, in pursuance of the order of the

day, previously issued by Gen. Brockman, he reviewed the entire column, including the numerous spectators on the ground, and required of every individual, as he passed, a pledge, by an appointed signal, that he would obey orders, and respect persons and property; declaring that no person who refused the pledge, whether soldiers or spectators, should march into the city with him."

The force of Gen. Brockman marched into the city at three o'clock. From fifteen hundred to two thousand men marched in procession, through the city, and encamped on the south side, near the river. The march was conducted without the least disorder, or trespass upon persons or property. The streets were deserted—the most obnoxious persons had left the city, leaving but little to provoke the resentment of the victors. But a few Mormons remained in the city, and these were hastening their preparations for crossing the river, as soon as possible. On my return from Carthage to the city, on Friday, about noon, I learned that the Quincy Committee had closed its labors at sunrise, and left for home, leaving a sub-committee to complete the reception and delivery of the arms of those Mormons who had not yet departed.

I also learned that, in addition to the duty which Gen. Brockman had assumed, under the treaty of superintending the removal of the Mormons from the State, he had issued an order for the expulsion from the State of all who had borne arms in defence of the city against his force, and all who were in any manner identified with the Mormons.

It could scarcely be believed, that such an order, in such palpable and gross violation of the unanimous pledge which had been signed by the officers, agreed to by the whole force, and endorsed by the Quincy Committee, had been given. But, on applying to Gen. Brockman, I learned that such an order *had* been given, and would be executed. This order was rigorously enforced throughout the day, with many circumstances of the utmost cruelty and injustice. Bands of armed men traversed the city, entering the houses of citizens, robbing them of arms, throwing their household goods out of doors, insulting them, and threatening their lives. Many were seized, and marched to the camp, and after a military examination, set across the river, for the crime of sympathising with the Mormons, or the still more heinous offence of *fighting in defence of the city, under the command of officers commissioned by you*, and instructed to make that defence. It is, indeed, painfully true, that many citizens of this State, have been driven from it by an armed force, because impelled by our encouragement, and a sense of duty, they have bravely defended their homes, and

the homes of their neighbors, from the assaults of a force, assembled for unlawful purposes.

In the face of the pledge given to "protect persons and property from all violence," (excepting, of course, *Mormon* persons and property,) it may be estimated that nearly one-half of the new citizens of Nauvoo have been forced from their homes, and dare not return. Thus far, these citizens have appealed in vain for protection and redress.

It remains yet to be seen whether there is efficacy in the law, power in the executive arm, or potency in public opinion, sufficient to right this grievous wrong. It is disgraceful to the character of the State, and a humiliation not to be borne, to permit a military leader, acting without the shadow of lawful authority, but in violation of law and right, not only to thwart the will of the executive, but to impose upon citizens the penalty of banishment for acting under it.

On Friday evening, the Anti-Mormon force was disbanded, and sent home, with the exception of one hundred volunteers, who remained to enforce the provisions of the treaty upon the Mormons, and to carry out Gen. Brockman's orders, for "the protection of persons and property from violence."

The last article that we shall notice is taken from the Quincy Whig of September 23d, in which Mr. Bartlett sums up the murders committed on either side, in which he makes the number to be six to each party; and closes up his last touch, as we would have thought, on this disgraceful subject, in the following words:

"The above are the number of deaths caused by the Mormons in Hancock. The expense to the State, and county of Hancock, caused by their presence, must have been immense indeed. All the facts, connected with these difficulties, will be collected and put in form, we presume, by some one hereafter. When it is done, it will prove an interesting chapter in the history of the State."

We do not know what Mr. Bartlett's notions are of what it takes to make an interesting chapter in Illinois history. We are ready to conclude, from the manner he speaks of the prospective, he looks ahead, for himself, laurels of no ordinary cast, which are to entwine his own brow; perhaps, a *monument*, to be erected some where in Hancock, on some eminent bluff on the banks of the Mississippi, in *memory* of the triumphs of *mob* reign, on which his own name and *distinguished services* shall be noted as deserving the highest praise. But in this, we

of the one, equally affects the whole. The Union cannot be preserved when one of the confederated States have been revolutionized, and her authority and dignity, trampled under foot by a civil insurrection, that publicly and openly covered nine counties, that have set all the rest at open defiance, and denied allegiance to the executive head. We say, again, this subject commends itself to the close and faithful consideration of the present administrators of this confederated government. The constitution of the United States, undoubtedly, has been shamefully violated. It is not a question of Mormonism. The Mormons, we think it is plain, would have left the country anyhow. Of this, however, it is nothing to our purpose whether they would or would not. *The question is*, will this government permit a CIVIL WAR to be waged, law and authority defied and set at naught, without investigation, and without bringing the instruments to a merited account? Or, in other words, will she permit *treason* committed to run at large and go unpunished?

APPENDIX.

"ANTI-MORMON MEETING.—A public meeting of the citizens of Hancock county, held at Carthage, on Wednesday, the 19th October, 1846, to adopt measures for the permanent security and welfare of the county:

Resolved, That no *Mormon*, except the committee left at Nauvoo for the transaction of business, should hereafter be suffered to come into Hancock county.

Resolved, That none of the expelled *Jack Mormons* should be permitted again to reside in said county.

Resolved, That any person who shall harbor *Mormons*, or encourage their return to the county, ought to be added to the list of expelled *Jack Mormons*.

Resolved, That the *Mormon* committee at Nauvoo, are expected to dispose of all the property belonging to that community as speedily as practicable; for the citizens of Hancock are determined that no tie or connexion of interest shall be left to lure that people back, or give excuse for their future visits to the county; and whenever it becomes necessary, will themselves sever all such connexion.

Resolved, That the thanks of the people are due to the committee of old citizens who have remained at Nauvoo since the general expulsion of the *Mormons*, to prevent their return, to remove as fast as practicable those left on account of sickness, and also to remove such *Jack Mormons* as were found to be dangerous to the peace and security of the county.

Resolved, That it is inexpedient longer to exact the services of said committee, as nearly all the invalid *Mormons* have already departed, and the remainder are expected to go so soon as their health will permit; but we assure the *Mormons* and their allies, that if found collecting again in Nauvoo, we shall ever be ready to visit them as a "*committee of the whole*."

And *Whereas*, Governor Ford, has issued a proclamation, dated the 12th instant, inviting such of the militia of Illinois, as are disposed to volunteer for the purpose, to march by his authority to Hancock county, under the pretence of vindicating violated laws, but with the real design, as we believe of stationing a force in Nauvoo, to protect and sustain the expelled *Mormons* and *Jack Mormons* in returning to occupy the city, and of thus undoing what it has cost the county so much to accomplish: Therefore,

Resolved, That the presence of Governor Ford and his troops, is not required by the best interests of the county, nor desired by either the *old* or *new* citizens of the same, and can only serve to embroil it afresh in strife and turmoil, and prevent the sale of *Mormon* church property, by encouraging that people, and their mischievous allies, to return to Nauvoo, where they can only live in a state of perpetual warfare, and so long as they may be backed by a force stronger than the county and its friends.

Resolved, That we deem it the duty of ILLINOIS MILITIA to ponder well before lending themselves to the cause of the *Mormons*, and becoming instrumental in bringing back upon us a civil feud which has raged for years, destroying the prosperity of the county, and endangering the lives and exhausting the means of its citizens.

Resolved, That it would be as great madness in the *Mormon* and *Jack Mormons* to return to Nauvoo under the protection of the Governor, as folly in the Governor himself to extend that protection; for the time must come that this force will be withdrawn, when they will again be expelled less tenderly than before.

Resolved, That it would be prudent in the Governor, and the people of Springfield, to look beyond *Mormon* and *Jack Mormon* reports, and ascertain the facts in reference to the condition of Hancock county, and the acts of its citizens, before becoming too much excited, or passing sentence of condemnation.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to draw up an address to the public, embodying a true account of the causes and circumstances of the late war in Hancock county.

Whereupon, T. C. Sharp, J. H. Sherman, J. W. Brattle, Joseph Sibley, and Abram Van Tuyl, were appointed as the committee, to draft an address to the public.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the proceedings and resolutions of this meeting be published in the Warsaw Signal.

J. H. SHERMAN, *Secretary*.

ABRAM VAN TUYL, *Chairman*.



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